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U.S. REGULATORY AGENCIES UNDER REAGAN 1980-1988

by

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Despite the Reagan administration's early successes in cutting the budgets of federal regulatory agencies and activities, spending in this area has risen steadily during President Reagan's second term. If Congress approves the President's regulatory budget proposals for fiscal year 1988, real regulatory spending will have actually increased by 10 percent since 1980.

In current (nominal) dollars, the costs of administering the federal government's 52 major regulatory agencies are expected to rise 15 percent in 1987 and 7 percent in 1988, bringing the current dollar spending total in that year to nearly $10.5 billion. In constant or "real" dollars (adjusted for inflation), federal regulatory budgets are expected to increase 11 percent and 4 percent in 1987 and 1988, respectively.

Regulatory staffing is also expected to increase slightly if Congress accepts the President's proposals for FY 1988. The number of regulatory jobs in the federal government will increase 1 percent in 1988. However, this small increase will not be enough to reverse the long-term downward trend in personnel under the Reagan administration. Between 1980 and 1988, the number of permanent, full-time positions will have dropped by 9 percent. This reduction-in-force stands in sharp contrast to the explosive job growth that took place prior to 1980. During the 1970s, for instance, the number of federal regulatory employees grew from 85,000 to 130,000, a 54 percent increase.

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The Appendix to this report presents detailed budget and staffing data for the major federal regulatory agencies and activities. Summary data for budgets and staffing are presented by regulatory category in Tables 1 and 2, respectively.

The Immediate Outlook -- The 1988 Budget

Most of the major regulatory areas have been slated for modest increases in both spending and personnel. For 1988, total regulatory spending is expected to rise to nearly $10.5 billion, a 7 percent increase from 1987. Staffing is projected to increase 1 percent.

Analysis of individual agency data (see Appendix, Tables 5 and 6) shows that increases do not occur across-the-board. Some agencies are scheduled to post significant increases in spending and staffing while others will remain flat, or decline. Moreover, most of the 1988 figures are still subject to action by Congress, which has tended to appropriate somewhat more generously for regulatory activities than President Reagan has recommended.

Spending. Spending for Social Regulation -- those programs established to produce social benefits through government control of business activity -- is scheduled to rise 7 percent in 1988. Leading this upward trend are the substantial spending increases in the areas of Environment and Energy (12 percent) and Job Safety and Other Working Conditions (10 percent).

Spending at most of the individual agencies in the Environment and Energy area -- including the Army Corps of Engineers, which oversees construction and development of the nation's wetlands and along navigable waterways, and the Department of Interior's Office of Surface Mining, Reclamation and Enforcement, which regulates "strip" mining and mandates subsequent efforts to restore affected land -- remains flat or declines slightly.

The large spending increase is concentrated in two agencies: the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission

Table 1

ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS OF FEDERAL REGULATORY ACTIVITIES
(Fiscal Years, Millions of Dollars)

Area of Regulation	1970	1975	1980	% Change 1970-1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	(Estimated) 1987	1988	% change 1980-1988
SOCIAL REGULATION													
Consumer Safety and Health.....	$867	$1,828	$2,763	219%	$2,904	$2,901	$2,935	$3,062	$3,195	$3,233	$3,567	$3,616	31%
Job Safety and Other Working Conditions....	128	364	753	488%	807	774	807	836	860	823	892	978	30%
Environment and Energy.....	278	1,114	2,201	692%	2,173	2,276	2,260	2,671	2,976	2,793	3,656	4078	85%
TOTAL - Social Regulation.....	$1,273	$3,306	$5,717	349%	$5,884	$5,951	$6,002	$6,569	$7,031	$6,849	$8,115	$8,672	52%
ECONOMIC REGULATION													
Finance and Banking.....	$87	$155	$361	315%	$399	$435	$414	$649	$620	$887	$759	$830	130%
Industry-Specific Regulation.....	91	160	279	207%	291	282	285	293	289	270	295	308	10%
General Business.....	115	206	354	208%	374	382	435	458	507	528	603	675	91%
TOTAL - Economic Regulation.....	$293	$521	$994	239%	$1,064	$1,099	$1,134	$1,400	$1,416	$1,685	$1,657	$1,813	82%
GRAND TOTAL.....	$1,566	$3,827	$6,711	329%	$6,948	$7,050	$7,136	$7,969	$8,447	$8,534	$9,772	$10,485	56%
% Change in Nominal Terms.....		144%	75%		4%	1%	1%	12%	6%	1%	15%	7%	
Total in 1982 $.....	$3,361	$6,294	$7,784		$7,368	$7,050	$6,855	$7,372	$7,576	$7,447	$8,253	$8,552	
% Change in Real Terms.....		87%	24%	132%	-5%	-4%	-3%	8%	3%	-2%	11%	4%	10%

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University. Derived from the Budget of the United States Government and related documents, various fiscal years.

Table 2

STAFFING FOR FEDERAL REGULATORY ACTIVITIES
(Fiscal Years, Permanent Full-time Positions)

Area of Regulation	1970	1975	1980	% Change 1970-1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	(Estimated) 1987	1988	% change 1980-1988
SOCIAL REGULATION													
Consumer Safety and Health	53,080	65,763	66,016	24%	63,327	59,565	56,350	55,521	54,395	53,764	55,155	54,592	-17%
Job Safety and Other Working Conditions	7,472	13,694	18,201	144%	18,023	16,151	15,849	15,570	14,577	14,303	14,554	14,409	-21%
Environment and Energy	4,929	15,618	19,621	298%	18,200	16,613	16,526	16,835	18,373	19,134	20,556	20,598	5%
TOTAL - Social Regulation	65,481	95,075	103,838	59%	99,550	92,329	88,725	87,926	87,345	87,201	90,265	89,599	-14%
ECONOMIC REGULATION													
Finance and Banking	6,208	8,102	9,649	55%	9,408	9,355	9,370	9,697	9,763	10,972	12,828	13,854	44%
Industry-Specific Regulation	6,072	7,221	7,365	21%	6,946	6,403	5,921	5,715	4,969	4,792	4,927	4,930	-33%
General Business	7,070	8,638	9,390	33%	9,055	8,685	8,737	8,841	9,026	9,136	9,167	9,654	3%
TOTAL - Economic Regulation	19,350	23,961	26,404	36%	25,409	24,443	24,028	24,253	23,758	24,900	26,922	28,438	8%
GRAND TOTAL	84,831	119,036	130,242	54%	124,959	116,772	112,753	112,179	111,103	112,101	117,187	118,037	-9%
% Change		40%	9%		-4%	-7%	-3%	-1%	-1%	1%	5%	1%	

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University. Derived from the Budget of the United States Government and related documents, various fiscal years.

(NRC). With a major infusion of funds for the cleanup of hazardous wastes, spending at EPA, which seeks to control and abate all pollution, is slated to rise $461 million, a 17 percent increase. Spending at NRC, which regulates the generation of nuclear power to protect public health and safety and the environment, is expected to rise $18 million, a 4 percent increase.

In the Job Safety and Other Working Conditions area, spending is slated for modest increases at nearly all agencies. The largest of these boosts in funding will occur at the Department of Labor's Labor-Management Services Administration (LMSA) and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). In 1988, spending at LMSA, which regulates internal labor union procedures such as the handling of union funds and the election of officers, is set to jump $18 million, a 29 percent increase. Spending at the EEOC, which directs federal job antidiscrimination programs, is expected to rise $23 million, a 14 percent increase.

Spending for Economic Regulation -- those programs directed at controlling the economic behavior of firms -- is slated to rise 6 percent in 1988. The most significant increases in spending will occur in the areas of Finance and Banking (9 percent) and General Business (12 percent).

Nearly all of the spending increase on the regulation of financial institutions is focused at the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC). The FDIC, which regulates banks whose deposits it insures, is set to increase its regulatory budget by 15 percent, or $50 million.

In the General Business area, all budgets are expected to rise in 1988. The largest of these increases -- both in absolute and percentage terms -- is set to occur at the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC). The SEC, which protects investors in the securities and financial markets, is expected to boost its budget by $26 million, a 30 percent increase.

When adjusted for inflation, spending increases slated for 1988 appear more modest. Spending for Social and Economic Regulation would rise by 3 percent and 6 percent, respectively. Looking below these aggregates, we find that Consumer Safety and Health, a subcategory of Social Regulation, is the only regulatory area in which spending is scheduled to decline in constant dollar terms. Led by modest budget cuts at such agencies as the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service, the Federal Highway Administration and the National Highway Safety Administration, real spending in Consumer Safety and Health is set to drop about 1 percent in 1988.

Staffing. Under the 1988 budget, full-time regulatory employment is scheduled to rise 1 percent, a net gain of 850 jobs. Leading this upward movement is the 6 percent staffing increase in Economic Regulation, an addition of over 1,500 jobs. The largest employment gain, in both absolute and percentage terms, would occur in Finance and Banking. Led by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, which will add over 850 employees, Finance and Banking agencies are set to increase employment by 8 percent, adding over 1,025 jobs. Staffing in General Business agencies is anticipated to rise by 5 percent, a gain of nearly 500 jobs.

Offsetting the upward movement in staffing somewhat is the overall reduction-in-force at agencies in Social Regulation, which are slated to lose over 650 jobs, a staffing decline of about 1 percent. The job losses are concentrated mainly in Consumer Safety and Health. Led by substantial reductions-in-force at the Customs Service (12 percent) and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (5 percent), this area will lose over 560 jobs in 1988, a reduction of 1 percent.

Agency Budgets Under President Reagan

By 1988, real spending for regulatory activities will have increased by 10 percent since 1980. (See Table 3 and Figure 1.) This long-term spending trend is

supported by increases in both Social (7 percent) and Economic Regulation (10 percent).

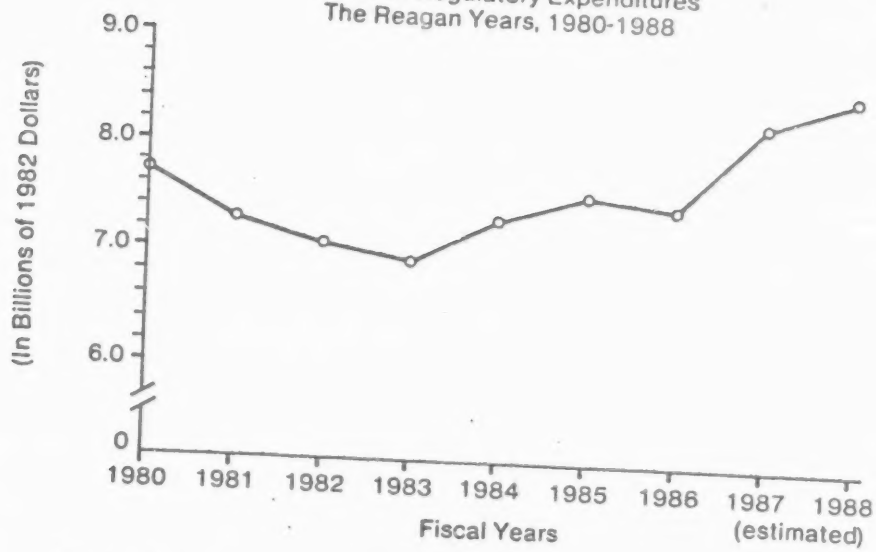
Overall regulatory staffing is budgeted to decline some 9 percent from the 1980 level, a loss of over 12,000 jobs. (See Table 4 and Figure 2.) Employment in Social Regulation would drop by 14 percent, a loss of over 14,000 jobs. Offsetting the decline in employment is an 8 percent increase in staffing (2,000 employees) for Economic Regulation.

Social Regulation. Substantial spending cuts in Consumer Safety and Health (8 percent) and Job Safety and Other Working Conditions (9 percent) have been more than offset through major spending increases in Environment and Energy. Led by large boosts in funding for the Environmental Protection Agency (63 percent), real spending in this area has grown by 30 percent.

Staffing data show a similar pattern. Deep reductions-in-force in Consumer Safety and Health (down 17 percent), and Job Safety and Other Working Conditions (over one in five jobs has been eliminated) lead a 14 percent personnel decline in Social Regulation. In Consumer Safety and Health, the loss of jobs occurs in all major areas. By 1988, the five inspection agencies within the Department of Agriculture will have cut staffing by 19 percent, a loss of over 4000 jobs; the regulatory activities of the Department of Transportation will have cut staffing by 24 percent, a loss of nearly 5000 jobs. In Job Safety and Other Working Conditions, the four agencies within the Department of Labor will have cut over 3000 jobs by 1988, a reduction of 28 percent. Nevertheless, staffing increases in Environment and Energy -- most notably the addition of over 2,500 jobs at the Environmental Protection Agency -- partially offset the staffing decline in other areas of Social Regulation.

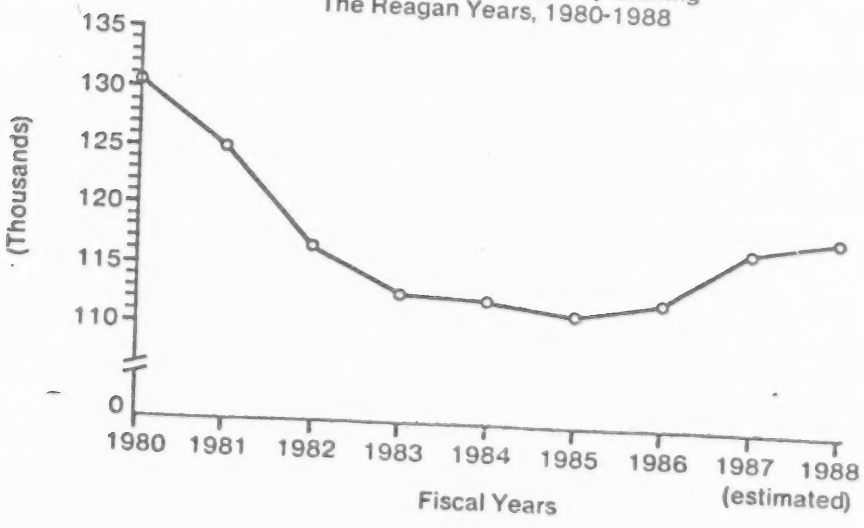
Economic Regulation. A 22 percent projected reduction in real spending for Industry-Specific Regulation from 1980 to 1988 will not be sufficient to balance

Figure 1
Trends in Regulatory Expenditures
The Reagan Years, 1980-1988



Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University. Derived from the Budget of the United States Government and related documents, various fiscal years.

Figure 2
Federal Regulatory Agency Staffing
The Reagan Years, 1980-1988



Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University. Derived from the Budget of the United States Government and related documents, various fiscal years.

Table 3

CHANGES IN REAL REGULATORY SPENDING DURING THE REAGAN YEARS

(Fiscal 1980-1988, Millions of 1982 Dollars)

Area of Regulation	1980	(Estimated) 1988	Real % change 1980-1988
SOCIAL REGULATION			
Consumer Safety and Health.....	$3,205	$2,949	-8%
Job Safety and Other Working Conditions....	873	798	-9%
Environment and Energy.....	2,553	3,326	30%
TOTAL - Social Regulation.....	$6,631	$7,073	7%
ECONOMIC REGULATION			
Finance and Banking.....	$419	$677	62%
Industry-Specific Regulation.....	324	251	-22%
General Business.....	411	551	34%
TOTAL - Economic Regulation.....	$1,153	$1,479	28%
GRAND TOTAL.....	$7,784	$8,552	10%

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University. Derived from the Budget of the United States Government and related documents, 1988 and 1981 editions.

Table 4

CHANGES IN REGULATORY STAFFING DURING THE REAGAN YEARS

(Fiscal 1980-1988, Permanent Full-time Positions)

Area of Regulation	1980	(Estimated) 1988	% change 1980-1988
SOCIAL REGULATION			
Consumer Safety and Health.....	66,016	54,592	-17%
Job Safety and Other Working Conditions....	18,201	14,409	-21%
Environment and Energy.....	19,621	20,598	5%
TOTAL - Social Regulation.....	103,838	89,599	-14%
ECONOMIC REGULATION			
Finance and Banking.....	9,649	13,854	44%
Industry-Specific Regulation.....	7,365	4,930	-33%
General Business.....	9,390	9,654	3%
TOTAL - Economic Regulation.....	26,404	28,438	8%
GRAND TOTAL.....	130,242	118,037	-9%

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University. Derived from the Budget of the United States Government and related documents, for fiscal years 1988 and 1981.

the growth in spending for Finance and Banking (62 percent) and in General Business (34 percent). The overall rate of spending growth in Economic Regulation is 28 percent.

All agencies in Finance and Banking are expected to increase real spending over the 1980-1988 period. The largest of these hikes, in both absolute and percentage terms, would occur at the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, which will have increased its regulatory budget by $135 million, a 103 percent jump.

The rise in spending for General Business regulation is expected to be led mainly by increases at the Department of Commerce's Patent and Trademark Office, whose budget will have risen $109 million by 1988, a 90 percent increase. With the notable exception of the Department of Justice's Antitrust Division, which will have experienced a 33 percent spending decline by 1988, most agencies in this area will have had substantial growth in spending.

The 22 percent decline in spending for Industry-Specific Regulation has been paced most notably by the demise of the Civil Aeronautics Board. Also, the deregulation of trucks, buses and railroads has resulted in a 51 percent spending reduction at the Interstate Commerce Commission.

For the 1980-1988 period, staffing in Economic Regulation is scheduled to increase 8 percent. Leading this trend is Finance and Banking, where the addition of staff has taken place across-the-board. The largest such increase would take place at the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, where over 2,900 jobs will have been added, a rise of 79 percent.

Employment in the General Business category has also risen -- with a slight increase of 3 percent. Major reductions-in-force at the Federal Trade Commission (40 percent) and the Antitrust Division of the Justice Department (33 percent) have offset substantial employment expansion at the Department of Commerce (42 percent or over 1,300 jobs), for example.

Bucking the long-term employment trend in Economic Regulation are the agencies within Industry-Specific Regulation. The closing of the Civil Aeronautics Board, along with across-the-board employment reductions, precipitated a personnel decline of 33 percent. The largest reductions will have occurred at the Interstate Commerce Commission, where, by 1988, over 1,200 jobs will have been eliminated, a 63 percent decline.

Conclusion

The data on regulatory spending indicate that President Reagan's early successes at cutting federal regulatory budgets have been more than offset by steady spending increases during his second term. In real terms, the federal government will spend 10 percent more on regulation in 1988 than it did in 1980.

The growth in spending under the Reagan administration is concentrated in three areas: Environment and Energy, Finance and Banking, and General Business. Between 1980 and 1988, spending in these three regulatory areas is scheduled to rise 30 percent, 62 percent, and 34 percent, respectively. In absolute terms, spending is set to rise $773 million, $258 million, and $140 million, respectively.

Despite early attempts to cut the budget of the Environmental Protection Agency, real spending at that agency is set to have grown by nearly $1 billion during the Reagan years, an increase of 63 percent. The inability to make budget cuts at EPA stick reflects the high degree of public and congressional support for environmental regulation, particularly with respect to the safe storage of hazardous wastes. Much of EPA's growth is due to increased spending mandated by Congress through the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation and Liability Act, or CERCLA. More commonly known as "Superfund," CERCLA authorizes EPA to clean up hazardous waste sites that pose a threat to human health and the environment.

The example of EPA illustrates that Reagan's early regulatory budget restraint has been significantly reversed in those areas where Congress and the public perceived serious regulatory needs and challenges. Conversely, budgetary restraint held up for agencies whose agendas were not deemed as critical in today's society.

In General Business, two agencies that deal with domestic competition -- the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission, for example -- have cut their real spending by over one-fourth since 1980. In contrast, agencies that deal with issues of international competition -- the International Trade Administration and the International Trade Commission, for example -- have boosted real spending by 139 percent since 1980. This shift reflects concern over the nation's mounting trade deficit and U.S. competitiveness in the world economy.

While the Reagan administration has not been able to sustain its early budget cuts in the regulatory area, its major reductions-in-force have largely held up. The federal government's major regulatory agencies will employ 9 percent fewer people in 1988 than they did in 1980.

The decline in regulatory staffing under the Reagan administration is concentrated in three areas: Consumer Safety and Health, Job Safety and Other Working Conditions and Industry-Specific Regulation. Between 1980 and 1988, these regulatory areas are slated to lose 11,000 jobs, 4,000 jobs and 2,000 jobs, respectively.

As might be expected, reductions-in-force occur in those areas where spending has declined as well. Likewise, staffing increases occur in those areas where spending has increased -- areas in which Congress and the public have recognized a continuing need for regulatory action, with or without President Reagan's support.

Between 1980 and 1988, real spending will have increased and staffing will have declined. This seeming paradox is explained by a shift in regulatory priorities. Under the Reagan administration the federal government has directed relatively more money into "capital-intensive" social regulatory agencies as opposed to old line "labor-intensive" agencies.

The major example is the EPA. During the Reagan years, the main focus of regulatory spending growth has been the EPA where real regulatory spending will have grown by nearly $1 billion or 63 percent from 1980 to 1988. Growth in staffing over the same period has been less dramatic; the number of EPA employees will have increased by 23 percent. Thus, it appears that the EPA requires more money per employee to perform its mandate than more traditional labor-intensive regulatory activities.

What can be concluded from such a shift? In the future, assuming that the current demand for regulatory action in the environmental area continues, a greater portion of federal regulatory expenditures can be expected to go to technology and outside experts, as opposed to fueling the growth of a permanent regulatory establishment. This does not guarantee, however, that federal regulation will be less burdensome or less costly for the regulated parties.

What, then, is likely to be the Reagan legacy with respect to regulation? Overall, the Reagan administration will have dramatically slowed the growth of the regulatory bureaucracy. But the example furnished at the Environmental Protection Agency of early budget and staffing cuts followed by significant growth in both figures underscores the need for public support in order to attain lasting regulatory reform.

Perhaps the greatest lesson to be learned from the regulatory budgets fashioned by the Reagan administration is the observation offered by an earlier president Abraham Lincoln who said, "Our government rests on public opinion.

Anyone who can change public opinion can change the government." The converse is also true -- absent a change in public opinion, dramatic changes in government will not take place.

Table 5

COSTS OF FEDERAL REGULATORY AGENCIES
(Fiscal Years, Millions of Dollars)

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	(Estimated) 1987	1988
SOCIAL REGULATION											
Consumer Safety and Health											
Consumer Product Safety Commission.....	-	$37	$43	$42	$32	$34	$35	$36	$35	$35	$34
Department of Agriculture:											
Agricultural Marketing Service (a).....	$190	$99	$67	$73	$145	$141	$136	$157	$147	$165	$157
Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service (b).....	101	379	259	301	322	301	353	342	335	334	318
Federal Grain Inspection Service.....	-	-	55	57	45	36	37	38	36	43	44
Food Safety and Inspection Service (c).....	-	-	381	407	351	362	376	405	398	417	441
Packers and Stockyards Admin. (d).....	3	5	8	9	9	8	9	8	9	9	9
Subtotal.....	$294	$483	$770	$847	$872	$848	$911	$950	$925	$968	$969
Department of Health and Human Services:											
Food and Drug Administration.....	$80	$207	$334	$340	$351	$397	$399	$437	$415	$463	$493
Department of Housing and Urban Development:											
Consumer Protection Programs (e).....	*	$2	$4	$6	$3	$5	$6	$7	$6	$7	$8
Department of Justice:											
Drug Enforcement Administration (f).....	$2	$12	$13	$13	$15	$16	$15	$18	$19	$25	$26
Department of Transportation:											
Coast Guard.....	$94	$284	$498	$512	$559	$503	$534	$558	$579	$540	$543
Federal Aviation Administration.....	126	196	281	298	280	332	314	294	304	364	400
Federal Highway Administration.....	6	15	29	27	21	25	27	33	37	83	75
Federal Railroad Administration.....	21	52	85	75	54	45	48	44	44	43	41
National Highway Traffic Safety Administration.....	32	104	136	150	113	106	107	114	121	138	129
Subtotal.....	$279	$651	$1,029	$1,062	$1,027	$1,011	$1,030	$1,043	$1,085	$1,168	$1,188

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	(Estimated) 1987	1988
Department of the Treasury:											
Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (g)	$50	$95	$144	$151	$143	$149	$160	$173	$167	$195	$200
Customs Service	157	331	409	425	440	455	485	509	560	684	674
Subtotal	$207	$426	$553	$576	$583	$604	$645	$682	$727	$879	$874
National Transportation Safety Board	$5	$10	$17	$18	$18	$20	$21	$22	$21	$22	$24
TOTAL--Consumer Safety and Health	$867	$1,828	$2,763	$2,904	$2,901	$2,935	$3,062	$3,195	$3,233	$3,567	$3,616
Job Safety and Other Working Conditions											
Department of Labor:											
Employment Standards Administration (h)	$37	$49	$124	$126	$114	$122	$123	$127	$123	$134	$145
Labor-Management Services Administration	12	29	55	57	52	54	59	57	54	62	80
Mine Safety and Health Administration (i)	27	67	144	151	145	149	151	150	145	158	167
Occupational Safety and Health Admin.	-	97	191	209	197	205	212	220	209	229	245
Subtotal	$76	$242	$514	$543	$508	$530	$545	$554	$531	$583	$637
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission	$13	$55	$124	$138	$141	$146	$153	$163	$158	$170	$193
National Labor Relations Board	$39	$62	$108	$118	$118	$125	$132	$137	$129	$133	$142
Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission	-	$5	$7	$8	$7	$6	$6	$6	$5	$6	$6
TOTAL--Job Safety and Other Working Conditions	$128	$364	$753	$807	$774	$807	$836	$860	$823	$892	$978
Environment and Energy											
Council on Environmental Quality	*	$4	$8	$5	$3	$2	$4	$1	$1	$1	$1
Department of Defense:											
Army Corps of Engineers	$2	$16	$41	$43	$46	$46	$51	$54	$57	$55	$55

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	(Estimated) 1987	1988
Department of Energy:											
Economic Regulatory Administration (j).....	-	$127	$146	$39	$53	$37	$29	$24	$23	$23	$22
Petroleum Regulation.....	-	-	-	71	17	14	13	12	10	11	11
Federal Inspector for the Alaska Natural Gas Pipeline	-	-	8	20	19	5	2	*	*	*	*
Subtotal.....	-	$127	$154	$130	$89	$56	$44	$36	$33	$34	$33
Department of Interior:											
Fish and Wildlife Service.....	$7	$25	$68	$79	$81	$76	$78	$90	$108	$129	$122
Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement.....	-	-	174	122	227	289	380	422	324	343	294
Subtotal.....	$7	$25	$242	$201	$308	$365	$458	$512	$432	$472	$416
Environmental Protection Agency.....	$205	$794	$1,360	$1,345	$1,363	$1,324	$1,639	$1,928	$1,860	$2,682	$3,143
Nuclear Regulatory Commission (k).....	$64	$148	$396	$449	$467	$467	$475	$445	$410	$412	$430
TOTAL--Environment and Energy.....	$278	$1,114	$2,201	$2,173	$2,276	$2,260	$2,671	$2,976	$2,793	$3,656	$4,078
TOTAL SOCIAL REGULATION.....	$1,273	$3,306	$5,717	$5,884	$5,951	$6,002	$6,569	$7,031	$6,849	$8,115	$8,672
ECONOMIC REGULATION											
Finance and Banking (l)											
Department of the Treasury:											
Comptroller of the Currency.....	$32	$65	$113	$121	$129	$144	$167	$170	$189	$212	$229
Farm Credit Administration.....	$4	$6	$12	$13	$15	$17	$20	$20	$22	$38	$39
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.....	$39	$63	$113	$124	$131	$78	$274	$232	$462	$277	$327

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	(Estimated) 1987	1988
Federal Reserve System (m)											
Federal Reserve Banks	n/a	n/a	$86	$100	$119	$132	$141	$152	$164	$171	$171
Federal Reserve System Board of Governors	5	11	19	19	21	24	25	24	26	27	27
Subtotal	$5	$11	$105	$119	$140	$156	$166	$176	$190	$198	$198
National Credit Union Administration	$7	$10	$18	$22	$20	$19	$22	$22	$24	$34	$37
TOTAL--Finance and Banking	$87	$155	$361	$399	$435	$414	$649	$620	$887	$759	$830
Industry-Specific Regulation											
Civil Aeronautics Board (n)	$11	$18	$29	$29	$26	$24	$21	$5	-	-	-
Commodity Futures Trading Commission (o)	2	3	17	19	21	24	27	28	28	30	33
Federal Communications Commission	25	47	76	81	80	83	89	96	91	103	108
Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (p)	18	33	68	74	76	79	88	98	94	103	104
Federal Maritime Commission	4	7	11	12	11	12	11	12	11	12	15
Interstate Commerce Commission	27	47	78	76	68	63	57	50	46	47	48
Renegotiation Board (q)	4	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL--Industry-Specific Regulation	$91	$160	$279	$291	$282	$285	$293	$289	$270	$295	$308
General Business											
Cost Accounting Standards Board (r)	-	$1	$1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	(Estimated) 1987	1988
Council on Wage and Price Stability (s).....	-	1	9	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Department of Commerce:											
International Trade Administration (t).....	$6	$9	$15	$19	$24	$40	$34	$38	$45	$57	$61
Patent and Trademark Office.....	49	78	105	116	125	152	175	200	212	256	283
Subtotal.....	$55	$87	$120	$135	$149	$192	$209	$238	$257	$313	$344
Department of Justice:											
Antitrust Division.....	$10	$18	$49	$44	$42	$44	$44	$43	$43	$44	$46
Federal Election Commission.....	-	*	$9	$10	$9	$10	$11	$13	$12	$13	14
Federal Trade Commission.....	$21	$39	$66	$70	$68	$67	$64	$66	$67	$66	$71
International Trade Commission (u).....	$4	$9	$14	$17	$18	$19	$21	$25	$27	$34	$35
Library of Congress:											
Copyright Office.....	$3	$6	$14	$14	$14	$15	$16	$17	$17	$18	$20
Securities and Exchange Commission.....	$22	$45	$72	$79	$82	$88	$93	$105	$105	$115	$145
TOTAL--General Business.....	$115	$206	$354	$374	$382	$435	$458	$507	$528	$603	$675
TOTAL ECONOMIC REGULATION.....	$293	$521	$994	$1,064	$1,099	$1,134	$1,400	$1,416	$1,685	$1,657	$1,813
GRAND TOTAL.....	$1,566	$3,827	$6,711	$6,948	$7,050	$7,136	$7,969	$8,447	$8,534	$9,772	$10,485

Notes:

* = less than $500,000

- = agency not operational

n/a = not available

(a) through (u): see notes at the end of the Appendix

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University. Derived from the Budget of the United States Government and related documents, various fiscal years.

Table 6

STAFFING BY FEDERAL REGULATORY AGENCIES
Fiscal Years, Permanent Full-time Positions

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	(Estimated) 1987	1988
SOCIAL REGULATION											
Consumer Safety and Health											
Consumer Product Safety Commission.....	-	884	871	812	631	577	558	502	476	479	479
Department of Agriculture:											
Agricultural Marketing Service (a).....	12,719	4,231	1,913	1,935	3,402	3,152	2,863	2,814	2,802	2,847	2,826
Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service (b).....	5,273	14,494	4,463	4,623	4,615	4,501	4,469	4,494	4,639	4,639	4,469
Federal Grain Inspection Service.....	-	-	2,242	1,805	1,089	875	866	739	704	711	711
Food Safety and Inspection Service (c).....	-	-	13,213	12,411	10,151	9,996	9,700	9,839	9,700	9,700	9,700
Packers and Stockyards Admin. (d).....	217	217	219	214	207	200	200	190	185	188	188
Subtotal.....	18,209	18,942	22,050	20,988	19,464	18,724	18,098	18,076	18,030	18,085	17,894
Department of Health and Human Services:											
Food and Drug Administration.....	4,414	6,441	7,419	7,756	7,377	7,188	7,168	7,104	6,806	6,834	7,418
Department of Justice:											
Drug Enforcement Administration (f).....	132	378	244	246	237	237	204	254	245	284	287
Department of Transportation:											
Coast Guard.....	7,064	12,323	11,513	11,274	10,518	9,642	9,696	9,206	8,346	7,677	8,234
Federal Aviation Administration.....	6,947	6,692	6,358	5,974	5,327	4,938	4,776	4,556	4,765	5,288	5,264
Federal Highway Administration.....	194	278	292	271	271	271	271	271	373	433	433
Federal Railroad Administration.....	286	495	666	594	557	471	460	460	458	458	459
National Highway Traffic Safety Administration.....	518	881	874	797	686	617	640	640	640	640	640
Subtotal.....	15,009	20,669	19,703	18,910	17,359	15,939	15,843	15,133	14,582	14,496	15,030

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	(Estimated) 1987	1988
Department of the Treasury:											
Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (g)	3,574	4,140	3,916	3,687	3,687	3,046	3,038	3,059	3,059	3,367	3,187
Customs Service	11,467	13,999	11,425	10,569	10,451	10,304	10,257	9,910	10,215	11,259	9,946
Subtotal	15,041	18,139	15,341	14,256	14,138	13,350	13,295	12,969	13,274	14,626	13,133
National Transportation Safety Board	275	310	388	359	359	335	355	357	351	351	351
TOTAL--Consumer Safety and Health	53,080	65,763	66,016	63,327	59,565	56,350	55,521	54,395	53,764	55,155	54,592
Job Safety and Other Working Conditions											
Department of Labor:											
Employment Standards Administration (h)	2,150	1,833	3,116	3,108	2,513	2,516	2,390	2,316	2,400	2,337	2,207
Labor-Management Services Administration	880	1,357	1,333	1,313	1,045	1,118	1,120	1,055	929	991	994
Mine Safety and Health Administration (i)	1,380	2,940	3,857	3,808	3,763	3,408	3,271	2,829	2,667	2,835	2,735
Occupational Safety and Health Admin	-	2,435	3,015	3,009	2,354	2,354	2,355	2,176	2,092	2,185	2,185
Subtotal	4,410	8,565	11,321	11,238	9,675	9,396	9,136	8,376	8,088	8,348	8,121
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission	780	2,384	3,558	3,412	3,137	3,127	3,125	3,107	3,125	3,125	3,198
National Labor Relations Board	2,282	2,573	3,157	3,213	3,213	3,213	3,213	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000
Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission	-	172	165	160	126	113	96	94	90	81	90
TOTAL--Job Safety and Other Working Conditions	7,472	13,694	18,201	18,023	16,151	15,849	15,570	14,577	14,303	14,554	14,409
Environment and Energy											
Council on Environmental Quality	n/a	50	32	16	15	11	11	11	13	13	13
Department of Defense:											
Army Corps of Engineers	n/a	613	800	800	830	860	900	905	913	890	890

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	(Estimated) 1987	1988
Department of Energy:											
Economic Regulatory Administration (j).....	-	2,978	2,161	429	597	537	377	299	278	269	249
Petroleum Regulation.....	-	-	-	954	201	144	128	99	75	82	84
Federal Inspector for the Alaska Natural Gas Pipeline	-	-	101	189	106	26	16	0	1	1	1
Subtotal.....	-	2,978	2,262	1,572	904	707	521	398	354	352	334
Department of Interior:											
Fish and Wildlife Service.....	385	827	1,362	1,485	1,341	1,548	1,081	1,162	1,450	1,630	1,611
Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement.....	-	-	1,120	1,200	844	821	849	964	1,080	1,128	987
Subtotal.....	385	827	2,482	2,685	2,185	2,369	1,930	2,126	2,530	2,758	2,598
Environmental Protection Agency.....	3,856	9,144	11,004	10,098	9,364	9,376	10,141	11,615	12,041	13,298	13,578
Nuclear Regulatory Commission (k).....	688	2,006	3,041	3,029	3,315	3,203	3,332	3,318	3,283	3,245	3,185
TOTAL--Environment and Energy.....	4,929	15,618	19,621	18,200	16,613	16,526	16,835	18,373	19,134	20,556	20,598
TOTAL SOCIAL REGULATION.....	65,481	95,075	103,838	99,550	92,329	88,725	87,926	87,345	87,201	90,265	89,599
ECONOMIC REGULATION											
Finance and Banking (l)											
Department of the Treasury:											
Comptroller of the Currency.....	1,920	2,546	3,331	3,071	3,071	2,917	3,250	3,250	3,250	3,418	3,472
Farm Credit Administration.....	225	230	252	275	284	287	287	287	484	573	577
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.....	2,669	3,614	3,691	3,554	3,435	3,554	3,554	3,554	4,258	5,740	6,601

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	(Estimated) 1987	1988
Federal Reserve System (m)											
Federal Reserve Banks	761	1,019	1,589	1,733	1,796	1,862	1,885	1,912	2,104	2,181	2,181
Federal Reserve System Board of Governors	177	283	298	324	328	343	337	353	393	382	382
Subtotal	938	1,302	1,887	2,057	2,124	2,205	2,222	2,265	2,497	2,563	2,563
National Credit Union Administration	456	410	488	451	441	407	384	407	483	534	641
TOTAL--Finance and Banking	6,208	8,102	9,649	9,408	9,355	9,370	9,697	9,763	10,972	12,828	13,854
Industry-Specific Regulation											
Civil Aeronautics Board (n)	686	718	753	655	504	436	363	-	-	-	-
Commodity Futures Trading Commission (o)	180	497	550	550	550	550	557	557	490	520	530
Federal Communications Commission	1,645	2,022	2,156	2,007	1,865	1,896	1,976	1,828	1,840	1,860	1,893
Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (p)	1,164	1,323	1,605	1,592	1,516	1,548	1,564	1,533	1,486	1,573	1,573
Federal Maritime Commission	252	319	361	306	306	290	232	212	202	216	218
Interstate Commerce Commission	1,912	2,142	1,940	1,836	1,662	1,201	1,023	839	774	758	716
Renegotiation Board (q)	233	200	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL--Industry-Specific Regulation	6,072	7,221	7,365	6,946	6,403	5,921	5,715	4,969	4,792	4,927	4,930
General Business											
Cost Accounting Standards Board (r)	-	-	42	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Council on Wage and Price Stability (s)	-	41	237	115	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	(Estimated) 1987	1988
Department of Commerce:											
International Trade Administration (t).....	256	294	391	376	368	526	446	560	688	789	919
Patent and Trademark Office.....	2,795	3,014	2,734	2,834	3,036	3,140	3,286	3,438	3,408	3,360	3,530
Subtotal.....	3,051	3,308	3,125	3,210	3,404	3,666	3,732	3,998	4,096	4,149	4,449
Department of Justice:											
Antitrust Division.....	595	715	939	939	829	742	704	649	674	647	625
Federal Election Commission.....	-	62	251	235	219	214	225	235	220	235	242
Federal Trade Commission.....	1,391	1,569	1,665	1,587	1,322	1,122	1,160	1,075	1,033	987	1,005
International Trade Commission (u).....	265	408	438	438	413	399	438	462	472	502	502
Library of Congress:											
Copyright Office.....	332	385	593	573	573	573	561	561	561	561	564
Securities and Exchange Commission.....	1,436	2,150	2,100	1,930	1,925	2,021	2,021	2,046	2,080	2,086	2,267
TOTAL--General Business.....	7,070	8,638	9,390	9,055	8,685	8,737	8,841	9,026	9,136	9,167	9,654
TOTAL ECONOMIC REGULATION.....	19,350	23,961	26,404	25,409	24,443	24,028	24,253	23,758	24,900	26,922	28,438
GRAND TOTAL.....	84,831	119,036	130,242	124,959	116,772	112,753	112,179	111,103	112,101	117,187	118,037

Notes:

- = agency not operational n/a = not available

(a) through (u): see notes at the end of the Appendix

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University. Derived from the Budget of the United States Government and related documents, various fiscal years.

NOTES:

(a) Formerly Consumer and Marketing Service.

(b) 1970 data are from the Agricultural Research Service.

(c) Formerly Food Safety and Quality Service.

(d) 1980 and 1981 data are from the Agricultural Marketing Service.

(e) Budgets for 1970 and 1975 are for the Office of Interstate Land Sales Registration; the budget for 1980 is for the Office of Neighborhoods, Voluntary Associations and Consumer Protection; staffing figures are not available.

(f) 1970 data are for the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs.

(g) 1970 data are from the Internal Revenue Service.

(h) 1970 data are for the Workplace Standards Administration.

(i) 1970 data are for the Bureau of Mines, Health and Safety Division, Department of the Interior; 1975 data are for the Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration, Department of the Interior.

(j) 1975 data are for the Federal Energy Administration; 1981 data are for the Emergency Preparedness and Energy Regulation Program, Department of Commerce.

(k) 1970 data are from the Atomic Energy Commission.

(l) The Federal Home Loan Bank System has been excluded from this study because separate data on regulatory spending and staffing is no longer available.

(m) All data for the Federal Reserve System are presented on a calendar year basis.

(n) Abolished in 1984.

(o) 1970 data are for the Commodity Exchange Authority, Department of Agriculture.

(p) 1970 and 1975 data are for the Federal Power Commission.

(q) Abolished in 1979.

(r) Abolished in 1980.

(s) Abolished in 1981.

(t) 1970 data are for International Activities -- Export Control; 1975 data are from the Domestic and International Business Administration.

(u) 1970 data are for the Tariff Commission.

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1989 FEDERAL REGULATORY BUDGETS AND STAFFING: EFFECTS OF THE REAGAN PRESIDENCY

by

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Kenneth Chilton

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1989 FEDERAL REGULATORY BUDGETS AND STAFFING: EFFECTS OF THE REAGAN PRESIDENCY

by Melinda Warren and Kenneth Chilton

I. Highlights

Although President Reagan will submit one more budget to Congress, for all practical purposes, the recently-released fiscal year 1989 Budget is this administration's final attempt to put its stamp on the federal bureaucracy. Thus, this is an appropriate time to assess how the face of federal regulation has been affected by this administration.

Several key conclusions can be drawn from the analysis of Reagan regulatory budgets. First of all, there are two distinct phases. In the first phase, represented by the 1981 through 1983 budgets, the administration achieved spending and staffing cuts across the board. In the second phase, from 1983 through the current budget, expenditures (but not staffing) grew at nearly the same annual rate that characterized the Carter years.

Secondly, a notable change in the composition of regulatory spending is evident. Environmental outlays in the second phase of Reagan regulatory budgeting have outpaced the 1975-1980 growth rates, while worker and consumer programs have continued to receive far less attention. Likewise, deregulation has continued to reduce spending at "industry-specific" agencies but the growth of agencies concerned with finance and banking and with international trade has rebounded to the pace of the late 1970s.

Overall, both supporters and opponents of regulatory reform will likely view the Reagan years with mixed emotions. This administration succeeded in cutting the size of the general regulatory establishment from 118,000 in 1980 to 106,000 in 1989. Following the initial (Phase I) budget cuts, however, federal regulatory spending has now reached a new high. Although the fiscal 1989 Budget calls for virtually no real growth, regulatory expenditures will have increased 11 percent overall during the Reagan years. Federal regulatory expenditures will top the $10 billion mark in the next fiscal year.

The 1989 budgets of the regulatory agencies appear to be a last ditch effort to tug on the purse strings of the regulatory bureaucracy. After 10 percent and 5 percent increases in real spending in 1987 and 1988, this budget looks more like the Phase I Reagan budgets of the 1981 to 1983 period. It remains to be seen if Congress ratifies this zero growth proposal or if, as seems more likely, it substitutes its own "business as usual" budget for the regulatory agencies along the lines of the Phase II growth pattern.

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II. The Two Phases of Reagan Regulation

Overview

Purse strings reform is one way to effect change, if not a revolution, in the regulatory establishment. In this regard, it is evident that the most effective efforts to control the federal regulatory bureaucracy through the budget process lasted less than one presidential term.

Figures 1 and 2 graphically depict the trends in spending and employment during the Reagan years. Fiscal 1983 was the low water mark for regulatory spending. By 1985, real spending was almost back to the 1980, pre-Reagan, level. By 1987, total regulatory expenditures reached a new high. Staffing reductions also plateaued in 1983. The number of permanent full-time employees at the regulatory agencies declined from 118,000 in 1980 to 102,000 in 1983. Thereafter, staffing levels remained nearly constant, until they rose in 1987 to 105,000. On the basis of the budgetary data, we estimate that the number of federal regulators in 1989 will total 106,000.

Spending Trends

Table 1 shows spending trends in, roughly speaking, the Carter and Reagan years. Phase I (1980-1983) cuts by the Reagan Administration averaged 4.2 percent a year overall. Real spending was reduced by 4.6 percent a year in the social regulatory area (consumer safety, worker safety and job conditions, and environmental and energy regulation). Regulatory spending aimed at economic objectives was decreased 1.9 percent a year from 1980 to 1983.

In the social regulatory area, declines occurred nearly across the board. In the economic area, only general business (international trade agencies and the SEC, for the most part) was left unscathed.

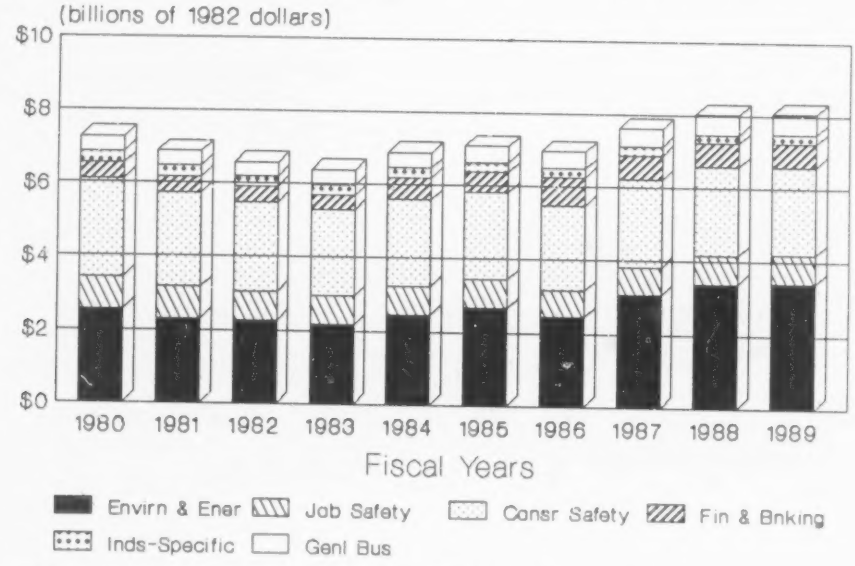
From 1983 to 1989 (Phase II), annual increases in real spending have averaged nearly 4 percent. The EPA has led the rebound in the social category with nearly an 8 percent annual rate of spending growth. Finance and banking has also grown by 8 percent a year during Phase II and general business has increased 5 percent a year. Industry-specific regulation has continued to command fewer resources with each new budget.

The overall growth pattern of Phase II Reagan Administration spending for federal regulation doesn't look much different from the 1975 to 1980 period. Real spending has grown by 4 percent a year from 1983 to 1989 (unless Congress raises the 1989 figures) versus 5 percent a year from 1975 to 1980.

Table 1 also reveals, however, that priorities within broad regulatory categories have changed significantly. Most notably, spending for job safety and other working

Figure 1

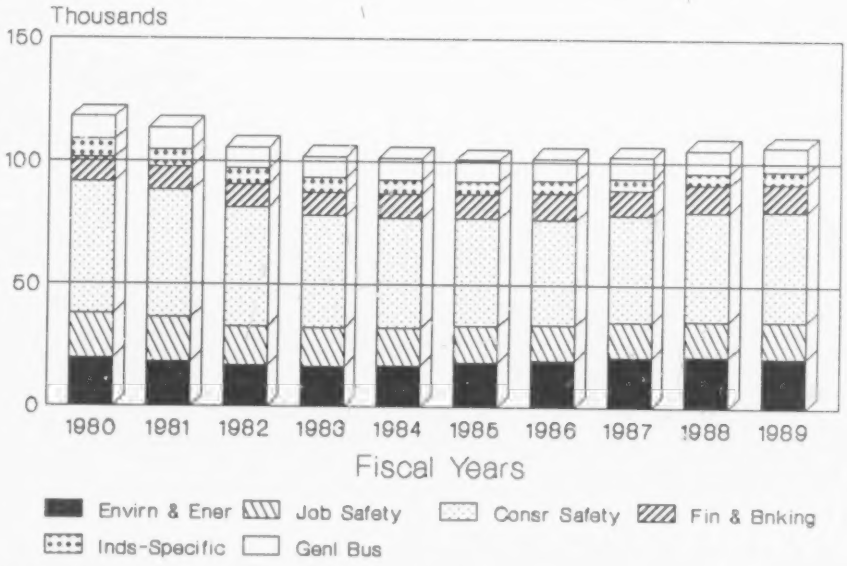
Trends in Regulatory Spending



Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University.

Figure 2

Trends in Regulatory Staffing



Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University.

conditions has not grown during Phase II (after declining by 4 percent a year in Phase I) whereas it increased nearly 8 percent a year from 1975 to 1980. Interestingly enough, Phase II spending on environmental concerns has actually outpaced Carter budgets.

Staffing

Although regulatory staffing actually reached its lowest level for the Reagan years in 1985, we used the same watershed year as for budget data to characterize Phase I and Phase II trends in regulatory employment (see Table 2). As mentioned previously, personnel levels were virtually flat from 1983 through 1987.

Overall, there is a reduced tendency for growth rates for personnel to return to the pattern of the Carter years than for expenditures to do so. Staffing has grown an average of less than one percent a year in Phase II as compared to an average increase of nearly three percent a year in the last half of the 1970s.

The environmental, finance and banking, and general business subcategories again proved a notable exception to this overall trend. In these areas, President Reagan in the period 1983-1989 has added regulators at nearly the pace of his predecessor.

Summary

Attempts to rein in the regulatory establishment virtually ceased in fiscal 1983. Following earlier cuts, the President and Congress appear to have had a change of heart. Overall spending growth is back on the pace of the mature regulatory establishment of the last half of the 1970s. Employment has increased but has not yet returned to the previous growth rate.

Priorities have shifted significantly within areas of regulation. EPA is leading the way in budget and staffing growth, reflecting the continuing public concern for environmental issues. (See Section IV for a discussion of trends at the EPA.)

Table 1

THE TWO PHASES OF REAGAN REGULATORY SPENDING
(Millions of 1982 Dollars)

Area of Regulation	Carter Years 1975	Carter Years 1980	Reagan Years 1983	Reagan Years (Est.) 1989	Annual % Change 1975-1980	Annual % Change 1980-1983	Annual % Change (Est.) 1983-1989
SOCIAL REGULATION							
Consumer Safety and Health	$2,398	$2,676	$2,345	$2,414	2.2%	-4.3%	0.5%
Job Safety and Other Working Conditions	599	873	775	774	7.8%	-3.9%	0.0%
Environment and Energy	1,832	2,553	2,171	3,421	6.9%	-5.3%	7.9%
TOTAL - Social Regulation	$4,829	$6,102	$5,291	$6,609	4.8%	-4.6%	3.8%
ECONOMIC REGULATION							
Finance and Banking	$255	$420	$399	$638	10.5%	-1.7%	8.1%
Industry-Specific Regulation	263	324	274	243	4.2%	-5.4%	-2.0%
General Business	339	411	418	556	3.9%	0.6%	4.9%
TOTAL - Economic Regulation	$857	$1,154	$1,091	$1,437	6.1%	-1.9%	4.7%
GRAND TOTAL	$5,686	$7,256	$6,382	$8,046	5.0%	-4.2%	3.9%

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University. Derived from the Budget of the United States Government and related documents, various editions.

Table 2

REDUCTIONS IN THE REGULATORY BUREAUCRACY DURING THE REAGAN YEARS
(Permanent Full-time Positions)

Area of Regulation	Carter Years 1975	Carter Years 1980	Reagan Years 1983	Reagan Years (Est.) 1989	Annual % Change 1975-1980	Annual % Change 1980-1983	Annual % Change (Est.) 1983-1989
SOCIAL REGULATION							
Consumer Safety and Health	50,880	53,720	45,469	44,617	1.1%	-5.1%	-0.3%
Job Safety and Other Working Conditions	13,694	18,201	15,849	15,044	6.6%	-4.3%	-0.8%
Environment and Energy	15,618	19,621	16,526	20,608	5.1%	-5.3%	4.1%
TOTAL - Social Regulation	80,192	91,542	77,844	80,269	2.8%	-5.0%	0.5%
ECONOMIC REGULATION							
Finance and Banking	8,117	9,681	9,386	11,190	3.9%	-1.0%	3.2%
Industry-Specific Regulation	7,221	7,365	5,921	4,973	0.4%	-6.5%	-2.7%
General Business	8,638	9,390	8,737	9,763	1.7%	-2.3%	2.0%
TOTAL - Economic Regulation	23,976	26,436	24,044	25,926	2.1%	-3.0%	1.3%
GRAND TOTAL	104,168	117,978	101,888	106,195	2.7%	-4.5%	0.7%

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University. Derived from the Budget of the United States Government and related documents, various editions.

III. Overview of the 1989 Budget

Expenditures

Federal regulatory expenditures in the proposed 1989 Budget total $10.1 billion. As shown in Table 3, this level of spending reflects a 4 percent nominal increase but no real rise over 1988. Table 3A displays the real levels of spending in constant 1982 dollars. The data in this table show no growth for social or economic categories. But this does not mean that the new Reagan budget proposes a freeze for all agencies.

Looking at the subcategory level, we see that consumer safety and health is slated for a small nominal increase but no real growth. Job safety and other working conditions rises 5 percent in nominal terms or 1 percent in non-inflated dollars. Environment and energy would increase slightly, less than 1 percent in real terms. But within this category, EPA would increase its spending by 4 percent over and above anticipated inflation.

Spending at the economic regulatory agencies is seen to be flat overall. Only the general business subcategory is scheduled for higher real spending levels, primarily due to a nearly 15 percent jump at the SEC.

Personnel Plans

As Table 4 shows, staffing increases by about 1,000 employees in 1989 or approximately 1 percent. Employment in the social regulation category grows by about 400, or less than 1 percent. An increase of 650 employees in the economic category translates into a 3 percent increase.

There is little variation within these broad categories. Most of the 400 person increase in social regulation takes place within the consumer safety and health subcategory and amounts to a 1 percent change. Most of the increase in economic regulatory staff is the result of added employees at two agencies -- the Patent and Trademark Office and the SEC. The 200 new slots at the Patent and Trademark Office represent a 5 percent increase while 150 new regulators at SEC increase its employment levels by 7 percent.

Table 3

ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS OF FEDERAL REGULATORY ACTIVITIES IN CURRENT DOLLARS
(Fiscal Years, Millions of Dollars)

Area of Regulation	1970	1975	1980	% Change 1970-1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988 (Estimated)	1989 (Estimated)	% Change 1988-1989
SOCIAL REGULATION														
Consumer Safety and Health	$710	$1,458	$2,307	225%	$2,431	$2,426	$2,441	$2,536	$2,643	$2,632	$2,809	$2,949	$3,044	3%
Job Safety and Other Working Conditions	128	364	753	488%	807	774	807	836	860	823	884	931	976	5%
Environment and Energy	278	1,114	2,201	692%	2,173	2,276	2,260	2,671	2,976	2,793	3,615	4,126	4,314	5%
TOTAL - Social Regulation	$1,116	$2,936	$5,261	371%	$5,411	$5,476	$5,508	$6,043	$6,479	$6,248	$7,308	$8,006	$8,334	4%
ECONOMIC REGULATION														
Finance and Banking	$87	155	$362	316%	$401	$436	$415	$650	$624	$890	$778	$785	$804	2%
Industry-Specific Regulation	91	160	279	207%	291	282	285	293	289	270	288	296	307	4%
General Business	115	206	354	208%	374	382	435	458	507	528	579	661	701	6%
TOTAL - Economic Regulation	$293	$521	$995	240%	$1,066	$1,100	$1,135	$1,401	$1,420	$1,688	$1,645	$1,742	$1,812	4%
GRAND TOTAL	$1,409	$3,457	$6,256	344%	$6,477	$6,576	$6,643	$7,444	$7,899	$7,936	$8,953	$9,748	$10,146	4%
% Change in Nominal Terms		145%	81%		4%	2%	1%	12%	6%	0%	13%	9%	4%	

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University. Derived from the Budget of the United States Government and related documents, various fiscal years.

Table 3A

ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS OF FEDERAL REGULATORY ACTIVITIES IN CONSTANT 1982 DOLLARS
(Fiscal Years, Millions of 1982 Dollars)

Area of Regulation	1970	1975	1980	% Change 1970-1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	(Estimated 1988	1989	% Change 1988-1989
SOCIAL REGULATION														
Consumer Safety and Health	$1,524	$2,398	$2,676	76%	$2,578	$2,426	$2,345	$2,346	$2,370	$2,307	$2,391	$2,427	$2,414	-1%
Job Safety and Other Working Conditions	275	599	873	218%	856	774	775	773	771	721	752	766	774	1%
Environment and Energy	597	1,832	2,553	328%	2,304	2,276	2,171	2,471	2,669	2,448	3,077	3,396	3,421	1%
TOTAL - Social Regulation	$2,395	$4,829	$6,102	155%	$5,738	$5,476	$5,291	$5,590	$5,811	$5,476	$6,220	$6,589	$6,609	0%
ECONOMIC REGULATION														
Finance and Banking	$187	$255	$420	125%	$425	$436	$399	$601	$560	$780	$662	$646	$638	-1%
Industry-Specific Regulation	195	263	324	66%	309	282	274	271	259	237	245	244	243	0%
General Business	247	339	411	66%	397	382	418	424	455	463	493	544	556	2%
TOTAL - Economic Regulation	$629	$857	$1,154	84%	$1,130	$1,100	$1,090	$1,296	$1,274	$1,479	$1,400	$1,434	$1,437	0%
GRAND TOTAL	$3,024	$5,686	$7,256	140%	$6,869	$6,576	$6,381	$6,886	$7,084	$6,955	$7,620	$8,023	$8,046	0%
% Change in Real Terms		88%	28%		-5%	-4%	-3%	8%	3%	-2%	10%	5%	0%	

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University. Derived from the Budget of the United States Government and related documents various fiscal years.

Table 4

STAFFING FOR FEDERAL REGULATORY ACTIVITIES
(Fiscal Years, Permanent Full-Time Positions)

Area of Regulation	1970	1975	1980	% Change 1970-1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	(Estimated) 1988	1989	% Change 1988-1989
SOCIAL REGULATION														
Consumer Safety and Health	41,613	50,880	53,720	29%	51,946	48,483	45,469	44,706	43,983	43,073	43,561	44,213	44,617	0.9%
Job Safety and Other Working Conditions	7,472	13,694	18,201	144%	18,023	16,151	15,849	15,570	14,577	14,303	14,354	14,886	15,044	1.1%
Environment and Energy	4,929	15,618	19,621	298%	18,200	16,613	16,526	16,835	18,373	19,134	20,454	20,795	20,608	-0.9%
TOTAL - Social Regulation	54,014	80,192	91,542	69%	88,169	81,247	77,844	77,111	76,933	76,510	78,369	79,894	80,269	0.5%
ECONOMIC REGULATION														
Finance and Banking	6,219	8,117	9,681	56%	9,439	9,371	9,386	9,764	9,850	10,914	10,306	10,990	11,190	1.8%
Industry-Specific Regulation	6,072	7,221	7,365	21%	6,946	6,403	5,921	5,715	4,969	4,792	4,792	4,933	4,973	0.8%
General Business	7,070	8,638	9,390	33%	9,055	8,685	8,737	8,841	9,026	9,136	8,642	9,350	9,763	4.4%
TOTAL - Economic Regulation	19,361	23,976	26,436	37%	25,440	24,459	24,044	24,320	23,845	24,842	23,740	25,273	25,926	2.6%
GRAND TOTAL	73,375	104,168	117,978	61%	113,609	105,706	101,888	101,431	100,778	101,352	102,109	105,167	106,195	1.0%
% Change		42%	13%		-4%	-7%	-4%	0%	-1%	1%	1%	3%	1%	

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University. Derived from the Budget of the United States Government and related documents, various fiscal years.

IV. Developments at the Largest Regulatory Agencies

This section analyzes how the top ten agencies (in terms of 1980 spending and staffing) in each of the two groups -- social and economic -- have fared during the Reagan Administration. 1980 was chosen as the base year because President Reagan offered a revised 1981 budget proposal with his first 1982 budget submission. This analysis helps put some life to the overall trends previously discussed and highlights the winners and losers from Reagan regulatory reform.

The Top 10 Social Agencies

In the area of controlling the cost of social regulation, the performance of the Reagan Administration has been a mixed bag. Real spending (expressed in 1982 dollars) has been reduced in seven of the ten agencies examined and eight of the ten show decreases in personnel for the period 1980-1989. Even so, real expenditures for these ten social regulatory agencies in total have *increased* by 13 percent during the Reagan Administration. The attempt to stem the growth of government has been more effective in terms of staffing, with a decline of 10 percent for this period.

Spending. The largest reduction in real spending for the period 1980-1989 has been in the Economic Regulatory Administration in the Department of Energy with a decrease of 90 percent (see Table 5). Regulatory expenditures for this agency reached a peak in 1980, dropped off sharply in 1981, and have declined steadily since 1982 as a result of the deregulation of oil prices. Another large reduction in the energy regulatory area has been

Table 5

EXPENDITURES OF TOP 10 SOCIAL REGULATORY AGENCIES
(Fiscal Years, Millions of 1982 Dollars)

Agency	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	(Estimated) 1988	(Estimated) 1989	% Change 1980-1989
Environmental Protection Agency	$1,577	$1,426	$1,363	$1,272	$1,516	$1,729	$1,630	$2,249	$2,579	$2,680	70%
Coast Guard	578	543	559	483	494	500	507	478	433	465	-20%
Nuclear Regulatory Commission	459	476	467	449	439	399	359	347	333	359	-22%
Food Safety and Inspection Service	442	432	351	348	348	363	349	354	360	358	-19%
Food and Drug Administration	387	361	351	381	369	392	364	389	407	380	-2%
Federal Aviation Administration	326	316	280	319	290	264	266	294	313	341	5%
Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service	300	319	322	289	327	307	294	294	297	267	-11%
Occupational Safety and Health Admin.	222	222	197	197	196	197	183	194	193	194	-12%
Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement	202	129	227	278	352	378	284	300	297	207	3%
Economic Regulatory Administration	169	41	53	36	27	22	20	20	18	17	-90%
	$4,662	$4,265	$4,170	$4,051	$4,358	$4,552	$4,257	$4,917	$5,231	$5,269	13%

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University. Derived from the Budget of the United States Government and related documents, various fiscal years.

achieved in the Nuclear Regulatory Commission -- 22 percent. Budgets for the agency reached a high in 1981 and have declined steadily. A return to 1986 levels is projected for 1989, however. For NRC budgets "no news is bad news"; budgets benefit from public concern over the safety of nuclear energy.

The Occupational Safety and Health Administration has also been slimmed down under the current administration. Expenditures have been reduced by 12 percent since 1980. A peak in OSHA spending was reached in 1981 and a cut in real spending in 1982 has, for the most part, stuck. OSHA took a second reduction in 1986 but rebounded to the 1982 level the following year.

In contrast, outlays for the Environmental Protection Agency in 1989 are projected to be at the highest level in the history of the agency. Spending has increased 70 percent in the 1980-89 period. Much of this growth can be attributed to increased spending for the clean up of hazardous waste sites through the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation and Liability Act (Superfund). EPA budgets are so large and the growth has been so rapid that the overall increase in spending for social regulation is primarily attributable to this one agency.

Staffing. Table 6 shows the trend in staffing for the top 10 social regulatory agencies. The Food Safety and Inspection Service, Coast Guard and Mine Safety and Health Administration lead the parade of net losers. They have each reduced personnel by approximately 30 percent during the Reagan years. The regulatory staffing of the Federal Aviation Administration shows a decrease of more than 12 percent as does the

Table 6

STAFFING FOR TOP 10 SOCIAL REGULATORY AGENCIES
(Fiscal Years, Permanent Full-time Positions)

Agency	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	(Estimated) 1988	(Estimated) 1989	% Change 1980-1989
Food Safety and Inspection Service	13,213	12,411	10,151	9,996	9,700	9,839	9,700	9,059	9,100	9,100	-31%
Coast Guard	11,513	11,274	10,518	9,642	9,696	9,206	8,346	7,928	7,920	8,086	-30%
Environmental Protection Agency	11,004	10,098	9,364	9,376	10,141	11,615	12,041	13,197	13,442	13,495	23%
Food and Drug Administration	7,419	7,756	7,377	7,188	7,168	7,104	6,806	6,834	6,937	7,097	-4%
Federal Aviation Administration	6,358	5,974	5,327	4,938	4,776	4,556	4,765	5,003	5,206	5,573	-12%
Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service	4,463	4,623	4,615	4,501	4,469	4,494	4,639	5,467	5,467	5,421	21%
Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms	3,916	3,687	3,687	3,046	3,038	3,059	3,059	3,475	3,716	3,461	-12%
Mine Safety and Health Administration	3,857	3,808	3,763	3,408	3,271	2,829	2,667	2,759	2,745	2,745	-29%
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission	3,558	3,412	3,137	3,127	3,125	3,107	3,125	3,052	3,338	3,338	-6%
National Labor Relations Board	3,157	3,213	3,213	3,213	3,213	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	-5%
	68,458	66,256	61,152	58,435	58,597	58,809	58,148	59,774	60,871	61,316	-10%

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University. Derived from the Budget of the United States Government and related documents, various fiscal years.

Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms. Of the ten agencies shown, six reached their peak in employment prior to 1981.

Here, too, the Environmental Protection Agency shows a new employment high in 1989. Reductions in force at EPA took place in 1982 but employment surpassed 1980 levels by 1985. The Environmental Protection Agency shows a projected increase in personnel of 23 percent for the period 1980-1989.

Although not in the top ten in terms of budgets or staffing, spending at the Consumer Product Safety Commission has been significantly reduced. Spending has been pruned from $45 million in 1980 to a projected $26 million in 1989 (see Appendix Tables A-1 and A-2.) Staffing for this agency has practically been cut in half for the same time period -- from 871 to 486.

The Top 10 Economic Agencies

Contrary to the general notion, the Reagan Administration has been less successful in reducing the size of economic regulatory activities than of social regulation. Expenditures for the top ten economic agencies increased 26 percent in real terms during President Reagan's term of office. However, personnel levels at these agencies have declined 2 percent during that time.

Spending. As shown in Table 7, real expenditures for economic regulatory activities in five of the ten agencies have increased in the time frame 1980-1989. The Patent and Trademark Office has experienced the largest increase in expenditures -- 89 percent. This agency's steady growth throughout the 1980s reflects the desire to protect technology and enhance competitiveness.

Table 7

EXPENDITURES OF TOP 10 ECONOMIC REGULATORY AGENCIES
(Fiscal Years, Millions of 1982 Dollars)

Agency	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988 (Estimated)	1989 (Estimated)	% Change 1980-1989
Comptroller of the Currency	$131	$128	$129	$138	$154	$152	$166	$164	$188	$191	46%
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation	131	131	131	75	253	208	405	277	224	217	66%
Patent and Trademark Office	122	123	125	146	162	179	186	208	237	230	89%
Federal Reserve Banks	100	106	119	127	130	136	144	145	151	145	45%
Interstate Commerce Commission	90	81	68	61	53	45	40	40	36	35	-61%
Federal Communications Commission	88	86	80	80	82	86	80	85	85	83	-6%
Securities and Exchange Commission	84	84	82	85	86	94	92	94	111	128	53%
Federal Energy Regulatory Commission	79	78	76	76	81	88	82	85	84	85	8%
Federal Trade Commission	77	74	68	64	59	59	59	56	54	54	-30%
Department of Justice Antitrust Division	57	47	42	42	41	39	38	37	37	37	-34%
	$958	$938	$920	$893	$1,103	$1,087	$1,291	$1,191	$1,207	$1,205	26%

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University. Derived from the Budget of the United States Government and related documents, various fiscal years.

Spending by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation is projected to show an increase of 66 percent from 1980 to 1989. Expenditures for regulatory activities at FDIC reached a peak in 1986. The turbulent times in the banking industry have increased demands on this insurer and watch-dog agency.

The Comptroller of the Currency, Federal Reserve Banks and the Securities and Exchange Commission all show steady budgetary gains. Responding to takeovers and insider trading is increasing the workload at the SEC. The budget of the Securities and Exchange Commission (in constant 1982 dollars) is expected to reach $128 million in 1989, an increase of 53 percent over 1980. Expenditures at the Comptroller of the Currency and at the Federal Reserve Banks will both be 46 percent higher in 1989 than in 1980.

Those large percentage increases are only partially offset by budget cuts at some of the smaller economic regulatory agencies. Federal Trade Commission spending has been reduced by 30 percent and the Department of Justice Antitrust Division's budget has declined by 34 percent between 1980 and 1989. The Interstate Commerce Commission -- the agency regulating interstate surface transportation -- reflects an even greater decrease in regulatory spending (61 percent). Legislation is being proposed to sunset the Interstate Commerce Commission by October 1, 1988. Indeed, deregulation of transportation has created the public perception of an overall reduction in regulation of economic activities.

Staffing. The number of people employed by the top ten economic regulatory agencies has not been cut as substantially as in the social regulatory area. Table 8 presents a picture of the trends in staffing for 1980-1989. The largest increase has been in the Federal Reserve Banks -- 39 percent -- with a peak in 1989. In fact, in 1989 four of

Table 8

STAFFING FOR TOP 10 ECONOMIC REGULATORY AGENCIES
(Fiscal Years, Permanent Full-time Positions)

Agency	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	(Estimated) 1988	1989	% Change 1980-1989
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.....	3,691	3,554	3,435	3,554	3,554	3,554	4,258	3,266	3,483	3,588	-3%
Comptroller of the Currency.....	3,331	3,071	3,071	2,917	3,250	3,250	3,250	3,418	3,680	3,795	14%
Patent and Trademark Office.....	2,734	2,834	3,036	3,140	3,286	3,438	3,408	3,093	3,530	3,715	36%
Federal Communications Commission.....	2,156	2,007	1,865	1,896	1,976	1,828	1,840	1,860	1,893	1,893	-12%
Securities and Exchange Commission.....	2,100	1,930	1,925	2,021	2,021	2,046	2,080	2,086	2,267	2,420	15%
Interstate Commerce Commission.....	1,940	1,836	1,662	1,201	1,023	839	774	706	700	700	-64%
Federal Trade Commission.....	1,665	1,587	1,322	1,122	1,160	1,075	1,033	918	936	936	-44%
Federal Energy Regulatory Commission ...	1,605	1,592	1,516	1,548	1,564	1,533	1,486	1,498	1,590	1,590	-1%
Federal Reserve Banks.....	1,589	1,733	1,796	1,862	1,885	1,912	2,087	2,155	2,213	2,213	39%
Antitrust Division.....	939	939	829	742	704	649	674	649	549	549	-42%
	21,750	21,083	20,457	20,003	20,423	20,124	20,890	19,649	20,841	21,399	-2%

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University. Derived from the Budget of the United States Government and related documents, various fiscal years.

the ten top economic regulatory agencies are expected to have the largest staffs in their history.

Employment at the Patent and Trademark Office shows an increase of 36 percent over the 1980-1989 period while the Securities and Exchange Commission displays a 15 percent addition in staff.

But staffing for the Antitrust Division has declined by 42 percent for the period 1980-1989. The number of personnel has been reduced 44 percent and 64 percent respectively at the FTC and ICC. In all three of these agencies, the number of personnel reached a peak in 1980 and has declined steadily over the Reagan Administration.

Summary

The analysis of the expenditures of these 20 agencies shows that President Reagan has had mixed success in controlling the growth of government. In the social regulatory area, large increases in expenditures at the EPA have overshadowed the reductions in seven of the other agencies. Likewise, staffing at the top 10 social agencies would have decreased far more than 10 percent across the board had it not been for the substantial growth in EPA personnel.

Spending has increased in real terms for six of the ten top economic regulatory agencies with the largest budgetary outlays occurring in President Reagan's second term. However, the economic regulatory activities of government constitute a far smaller percentage of total regulatory spending and business compliance costs than social regulation.

V. Appendix

Budget figures for the 51 major regulatory agencies shown in Table A-1 consist of outlays by fiscal year. These expenditures are rounded to the nearest million. Staffing figures shown in Table A-2 consist only of permanent, full-time positions in each agency.

Agencies that primarily perform taxation, subsidy, and credit functions are excluded from these regulatory data. Examples of these organizations are the Internal Revenue Service, the Commodity Credit Corporation, and the Federal Housing Administration. Agencies that administer federal contracts and procurement procedures are likewise not included in this report. In addition, the Customs Service has been deleted from these tables due to the fact that separate regulatory functions cannot be accurately estimated.

Notes:

(a) Formerly Consumer and Marketing Service.
(b) 1970 data are for the Agricultural Research Service.
(c) Formerly Food Safety and Quality Service.
(d) 1980 and 1981 data are for the Agricultural Marketing Service.
(e) Budgets for 1970 and 1975 are for the Office of Interstate Land Sales Registration; the budget for 1980 is for the Office of Neighborhoods, Voluntary Associations and Consumer Protection; staffing figures are not available.
(f) 1970 data are for the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs.
(g) Budgets for the Customs Service have been dropped from this analysis due to the difficulty in tracking the regulatory activities of this agency.
(h) Prior to fiscal year 1973, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms was part of the Internal Revenue Service.
(i) 1970 data are for the Workplace Standards Administration.
(j) 1970 data are for the Health and Safety Division of the Bureau of Mines, Department of the Interior; 1975 data are for the Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration, Department of the Interior.
(k) 1975 data are for the Federal Energy Administration; 1981 data are for the Emergency Preparedness and Energy Regulation Program, Department of Commerce.
(l) Prior to fiscal year 1975, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission was part of the Atomic Energy Commission.
(m) The Federal Home Loan Bank System has been excluded from this study because separate data on regulatory spending and staffing are no longer available.
(n) All data for the Federal Reserve System are presented on a calendar year basis.
(o) Abolished in 1984.
(p) 1970 data are for the Commodity Exchange Authority, Department of Agriculture.
(q) 1970 and 1975 data are for the Federal Power Commission.
(r) Abolished in 1979.
(s) Abolished in 1980.
(t) Abolished in 1981.
(u) 1970 data are for International Activities -- Export Control; 1975 data are for the Domestic and International Business Administration.
(v) Regulation of both imports and exports was previously performed by the International Trade Administration. In the 1989 Budget, the regulation of exports is shown under the Export Administration of the Department of Commerce.
(w) 1970 data are for the Tariff Commission.

Table A-1

COSTS OF FEDERAL REGULATORY AGENCIES
(Fiscal Years, Millions of Dollars)

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	(Estimated) 1988	(Estimated) 1989
SOCIAL REGULATION												
CONSUMER SAFETY AND HEALTH												
Consumer Product Safety Commission	-	$37	$43	$42	$32	$34	$35	$36	$35	$35	$33	$33
Department of Agriculture:												
Agricultural Marketing Service (a)	$190	$99	$67	$73	$145	$141	$136	$157	$147	$145	$162	$160
Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service (b)	101	379	259	301	322	301	353	342	335	345	361	337
Federal Grain Inspection Service	-	-	55	57	45	36	37	38	36	36	44	45
Food Safety and Inspection Service (c)	-	-	381	407	351	362	376	405	398	416	438	452
Packers and Stockyards Admin. (d)	3	5	8	9	9	8	9	8	9	9	9	10
Subtotal	$294	$483	$770	$847	$872	$848	$911	$950	$925	$951	$1,014	$1,004
Department of Health and Human Services:												
Food and Drug Administration	$80	$207	$334	$340	$351	$397	$399	$437	$415	$457	$495	$479
Department of Housing and Urban Development:												
Consumer Protection Programs (e)	*	$2	$4	$6	$3	$5	$6	$7	$6	$6	$7	$7
Department of Justice:												
Drug Enforcement Administration (f)	$2	$12	$13	$13	$15	$16	$15	$18	$19	$24	$25	$27
Department of Transportation:												
Coast Guard	$94	$284	$498	$512	$559	$503	$534	$558	$579	$562	$526	$586
Federal Aviation Administration	126	196	281	298	280	332	314	294	304	345	380	430
Federal Highway Administration	6	15	29	27	21	25	27	33	37	75	80	85
Federal Railroad Administration	21	52	85	75	54	45	48	44	44	41	53	55
National Highway Traffic Safety Administration	32	104	136	150	113	106	107	114	121	136	132	133
Subtotal	$279	$651	$1,029	$1,062	$1,027	$1,011	$1,030	$1,043	$1,085	$1,159	$1,171	$1,289

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	(Estimated) 1988	1989
Department of the Treasury (g):												
Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (h)	$50	$95	$144	$151	$143	$149	$160	$173	$167	$195	$220	$220
National Transportation Safety Board	$5	$10	$17	$18	$18	$20	$21	$22	$21	$23	$24	$25
TOTAL--Consumer Safety and Health	$710	$1,458	$2,307	$2,431	$2,426	$2,441	$2,536	$2,643	$2,632	$2,809	$2,949	$3,044
JOB SAFETY AND OTHER WORKING CONDITIONS												
Department of Labor:												
Employment Standards Administration (i)	$37	$49	$124	$126	$114	$122	$123	$127	$123	$132	$141	$153
Labor-Management Services Administration	12	29	55	57	52	54	59	57	54	61	77	73
Mine Safety and Health Administration (j)	27	67	144	151	145	149	151	150	145	157	159	165
Occupational Safety and Health Admin.	-	97	191	209	197	205	212	220	209	228	235	245
Subtotal	$76	$242	$514	$543	$508	$530	$545	$554	$531	$578	$612	$636
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission	$13	$55	$124	$138	$141	$146	$153	$163	$158	$170	$180	$195
National Labor Relations Board	$39	$62	$108	$118	$118	$125	$132	$137	$129	$131	$133	$139
Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission	-	$5	$7	$8	$7	$6	$6	$6	$5	$5	$6	$6
TOTAL--Job Safety and Other Working Conditions	$128	$364	$753	$807	$774	$807	$836	$860	$823	$884	$931	$976
ENVIRONMENT AND ENERGY												
Council on Environmental Quality	*	$4	$8	$5	$3	$2	$4	$1	$1	$1	$1	$1
Department of Defense:												
Army Corps of Engineers	$2	$16	$41	$43	$46	$46	$51	$54	$57	$55	$55	$60

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	(Estimated) 1988	1989
Department of Energy:												
Economic Regulatory Administration (k).....	-	$127	$146	$39	$53	$37	$29	$24	$23	$23	$22	$21
Petroleum Regulation.....	-	-	-	71	17	14	13	12	10	10	11	11
Federal Inspector for the Alaska Natural Gas Pipeline	-	-	8	20	19	5	2	*	*	*	*	*
Subtotal.....	-	$127	$154	$130	$89	$56	$44	$36	$33	$33	$33	$32
Department of Interior:												
Fish and Wildlife Service.....	$7	$25	$68	$79	$81	$76	$78	$90	$108	$124	$138	$127
Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement.....	-	-	174	122	227	289	380	422	324	352	361	261
Subtotal.....	$7	$25	$242	$201	$308	$365	$458	$512	$432	$476	$499	$388
Environmental Protection Agency.....	$205	$794	$1,360	$1,345	$1,363	$1,324	$1,639	$1,928	$1,860	$2,642	$3,134	$3,380
Nuclear Regulatory Commission (l).....	$64	$148	$396	$449	$467	$467	$475	$445	$410	$408	$404	$453
TOTAL--Environment and Energy.....	$278	$1,114	$2,201	$2,173	$2,276	$2,260	$2,671	$2,976	$2,793	$3,615	$4,126	$4,314
TOTAL SOCIAL REGULATION.....	$1,116	$2,936	$5,261	$5,411	$5,476	$5,508	$6,043	$6,479	$6,248	$7,308	$8,006	$8,334
ECONOMIC REGULATION												
FINANCE AND BANKING (m)												
Department of the Treasury:												
Comptroller of the Currency.....	$32	$65	$113	$121	$129	$144	$167	$170	$189	$193	$229	$241
Farm Credit Administration.....	$4	$6	$12	$13	$15	$17	$20	$20	$22	$31	$35	$38
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.....	$39	$63	$113	$124	$131	$78	$274	$232	$462	$326	$272	$274

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	(Estimated) 1988	1989
Federal Reserve System (n)												
Federal Reserve Banks	n/a	n/a	$86	$100	$119	$132	$141	$152	$164	$170	$183	$183
Federal Reserve System Board of Governors	5	11	20	21	22	25	26	28	29	28	29	29
Subtotal	$5	$11	$106	$121	$141	$157	$167	$180	$193	$198	$212	$212
National Credit Union Administration	$7	$10	$18	$22	$20	$19	$22	$22	$24	$30	$37	$39
TOTAL--Finance and Banking	$87	$155	$362	$401	$436	$415	$650	$624	$890	$778	$785	$804
INDUSTRY-SPECIFIC REGULATION												
Civil Aeronautics Board (o)	$11	$18	$29	$29	$26	$24	$21	$5	-	-	-	-
Commodity Futures Trading Commission (p)	2	3	17	19	21	24	27	28	28	29	33	36
Federal Communications Commission	25	47	76	81	80	83	89	96	91	100	103	105
Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (q)	18	33	68	74	76	79	88	98	94	100	102	107
Federal Maritime Commission	4	7	11	12	11	12	11	12	11	12	14	15
Interstate Commerce Commission	27	47	78	76	68	63	57	50	46	47	44	44
Renegotiation Board (r)	4	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL--Industry-Specific Regulation	$91	$160	$279	$291	$282	$285	$293	$289	$270	$288	$296	$307
GENERAL BUSINESS												
Cost Accounting Standards Board (s)	-	$1	$1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Council on Wage and Price Stability (t)	-	1	9	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	(Estimated) 1988	1989
Department of Commerce:												
International Trade Administration (u).....	$6	$9	$15	$19	$24	$40	$34	$38	$45	$54	$19	$23
Export Administration (v).....	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	38	40
Patent and Trademark Office.....	49	78	105	116	125	152	175	200	212	244	288	290
Subtotal.....	$55	$87	$120	$135	$149	$192	$209	$238	$257	$298	$345	$353
Department of Justice:												
Antitrust Division.....	$10	$18	$49	$44	$42	$44	$44	$43	$43	$43	$45	$47
Federal Election Commission.....	-	*	$9	$10	$9	$10	$11	$13	$12	$13	$14	$15
Federal Trade Commission.....	$21	$39	$66	$70	$68	$67	$64	$66	$67	$66	$66	$68
International Trade Commission (w).....	$4	$9	$14	$17	$18	$19	$21	$25	$27	$31	$37	$37
Library of Congress:												
Copyright Office.....	$3	$6	$14	$14	$14	$15	$16	$17	$17	$17	$19	$20
Securities and Exchange Commission.....	$22	$45	$72	$79	$82	$88	$93	$105	$105	$111	$135	$161
TOTAL--General Business.....	$115	$206	$354	$374	$382	$435	$458	$507	$528	$579	$661	$701
TOTAL ECONOMIC REGULATION.....	$293	$521	$995	$1,066	$1,100	$1,135	$1,401	$1,420	$1,688	$1,645	$1,742	$1,812
GRAND TOTAL.....	$1,409	$3,457	$6,256	$6,477	$6,576	$6,643	$7,444	$7,899	$7,936	$8,953	$9,748	$10,146

Notes:

* - less than $500,000

- = agency not operational

n/a = not available

(a) through (w): see notes at the beginning of the Appendix

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University. Derived from the Budget of the United States Government and related documents, various fiscal years.

Table A-2

STAFFING OF FEDERAL REGULATORY AGENCIES
(Fiscal Years, Permanent Full-time Positions)

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	(Estimated) 1988	(Estimated) 1989
SOCIAL REGULATION												
CONSUMER SAFETY AND HEALTH												
Consumer Product Safety Commission.....	-	884	871	812	631	577	558	502	476	456	480	486
Department of Agriculture:												
Agricultural Marketing Service (a).....	12,719	4,231	1,913	1,935	3,402	3,152	2,863	2,814	2,802	2,780	2,837	2,819
Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service (b).....	5,273	14,494	4,463	4,623	4,615	4,501	4,469	4,494	4,639	5,467	5,467	5,421
Federal Grain Inspection Service.....	-	-	2,242	1,805	1,089	875	866	739	704	686	686	686
Food Safety and Inspection Service (c).....	-	-	13,213	12,411	10,151	9,996	9,700	9,839	9,700	9,059	9,100	9,100
Packers and Stockyards Admin. (d).....	217	217	219	214	207	200	200	190	185	188	193	193
Subtotal.....	18,209	18,942	22,050	20,988	19,464	18,724	18,098	18,076	18,030	18,180	18,283	18,219
Department of Health and Human Services:												
Food and Drug Administration.....	4,414	6,441	7,419	7,756	7,377	7,188	7,168	7,104	6,806	6,834	6,937	7,097
Department of Justice:												
Drug Enforcement Administration (f).....	132	378	244	246	237	237	204	254	245	286	287	296
Department of Transportation:												
Coast Guard.....	7,064	12,323	11,513	11,274	10,518	9,642	9,696	9,206	8,346	7,928	7,920	8,086
Federal Aviation Administration.....	6,947	6,692	6,358	5,974	5,327	4,938	4,776	4,550	4,765	5,003	5,206	5,573
Federal Highway Administration.....	194	278	292	271	271	271	271	271	373	433	433	448
Federal Railroad Administration.....	286	495	666	594	557	471	460	460	458	458	459	462
National Highway Traffic Safety Administration.....	518	881	874	797	686	617	640	640	640	640	648	651
Subtotal.....	15,009	20,669	19,703	18,910	17,359	15,939	15,843	15,133	14,582	14,462	14,666	15,220

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	(Estimated) 1988	1989
Department of the Treasury (g) :												
Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (h)	3,574	4,140	3,916	3,687	3,687	3,046	3,038	3,059	3,059	3,475	3,716	3,461
National Transportation Safety Board	275	310	388	359	359	335	355	357	351	324	324	324
TOTAL--Consumer Safety and Health	41,613	50,880	53,720	51,946	48,483	45,469	44,706	43,983	43,073	43,561	44,213	44,617
JOB SAFETY AND OTHER WORKING CONDITIONS												
Department of Labor:												
Employment Standards Administration (i)	2,150	1,833	3,116	3,108	2,513	2,516	2,390	2,316	2,400	2,378	2,348	2,458
Labor-Management Services Administration	880	1,357	1,333	1,313	1,045	1,118	1,120	1,055	929	934	1,013	1,009
Mine Safety and Health Administration (j)	1,380	2,940	3,857	3,808	3,763	3,408	3,271	2,829	2,667	2,759	2,745	2,745
Occupational Safety and Health Admin.	-	2,435	3,015	3,009	2,354	2,354	2,355	2,176	2,092	2,141	2,352	2,404
Subtotal	4,410	8,565	11,321	11,238	9,675	9,396	9,136	8,376	8,088	8,212	8,458	8,616
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission	780	2,384	3,558	3,412	3,137	3,127	3,125	3,107	3,125	3,052	3,338	3,338
National Labor Relations Board	2,282	2,573	3,157	3,213	3,213	3,213	3,213	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000
Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission	-	172	165	160	126	113	96	94	90	90	90	90
TOTAL--Job Safety and Other Working Conditions	7,472	13,694	18,201	18,023	16,151	15,849	15,570	14,577	14,303	14,354	14,886	15,044
ENVIRONMENT AND ENERGY												
Council on Environmental Quality	n/a	50	32	16	15	11	11	11	13	13	13	13
Department of Defense:												
Army Corps of Engineers	n/a	613	800	800	830	860	900	905	913	890	1,040	1,086

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	(Estimated) 1988	1989
Department of Energy:												
Economic Regulatory Administration (k).....	-	2,978	2,161	429	597	537	377	299	278	254	250	240
Petroleum Regulation.....	-	-	-	954	201	144	128	99	75	85	83	84
Federal Inspector for the Alaska Natural Gas Pipeline	-	-	101	189	106	26	16	0	1	1	1	1
Subtotal.....	-	2,978	2,262	1,572	904	707	521	398	354	340	334	325
Department of Interior:												
Fish and Wildlife Service.....	385	827	1,362	1,485	1,341	1,548	1,081	1,162	1,450	1,571	1,598	1,500
Office of Surface Mining Reclamation and Enforcement.....	-	-	1,120	1,200	844	821	849	964	1,080	1,225	1,238	1,129
Subtotal.....	385	827	2,482	2,685	2,185	2,369	1,930	2,126	2,530	2,796	2,836	2,629
Environmental Protection Agency.....	3,856	9,144	11,004	10,098	9,364	9,376	10,141	11,615	12,041	13,197	13,442	13,495
Nuclear Regulatory Commission (l).....	688	2,006	3,041	3,029	3,315	3,203	3,332	3,318	3,283	3,218	3,130	3,060
TOTAL--Environment and Energy.....	4,929	15,618	19,621	18,200	16,613	16,526	16,835	18,373	19,134	20,454	20,795	20,608
TOTAL SOCIAL REGULATION.....	54,014	80,192	91,542	88,169	81,247	77,844	77,111	76,933	76,510	78,369	79,894	80,269
ECONOMIC REGULATION												
FINANCE AND BANKING (m)												
Department of the Treasury:												
Comptroller of the Currency.....	1,920	2,546	3,331	3,071	3,071	2,917	3,250	3,250	3,250	3,418	3,680	3,795
Farm Credit Administration.....	225	230	252	275	284	287	287	287	484	545	588	586
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.....	2,669	3,614	3,691	3,554	3,435	3,554	3,554	3,554	4,258	3,266	3,483	3,588

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	(Estimated) 1988	1989
Federal Reserve System (n)												
Federal Reserve Banks	761	1,019	1,589	1,733	1,796	1,862	1,885	1,912	2,087	2,155	2,213	2,213
Federal Reserve System Board of Governors	188	298	330	355	344	359	404	440	352	398	414	414
Subtotal	949	1,317	1,919	2,088	2,140	2,221	2,289	2,352	2,439	2,553	2,627	2,627
National Credit Union Administration	456	410	488	451	441	407	384	407	483	524	612	594
TOTAL--Finance and Banking	6,219	8,117	9,681	9,439	9,371	9,386	9,764	9,850	10,914	10,306	10,990	11,190
INDUSTRY-SPECIFIC REGULATION												
Civil Aeronautics Board (o)	686	718	753	655	504	436	363	-	-	-	-	-
Commodity Futures Trading Commission (p)	180	497	550	550	550	550	557	557	490	520	530	562
Federal Communications Commission	1,645	2,022	2,156	2,007	1,865	1,896	1,976	1,828	1,840	1,860	1,893	1,893
Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (q)	1,164	1,323	1,605	1,592	1,516	1,548	1,564	1,533	1,486	1,498	1,590	1,590
Federal Maritime Commission	252	319	361	306	306	290	232	212	202	208	220	228
Interstate Commerce Commission	1,912	2,142	1,940	1,836	1,662	1,201	1,023	839	774	706	700	700
Renegotiation Board (r)	233	200	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL--Industry-Specific Regulation	6,072	7,221	7,365	6,946	6,403	5,921	5,715	4,969	4,792	4,792	4,933	4,973
GENERAL BUSINESS												
Cost Accounting Standards Board (s)	-	-	42	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Council on Wage and Price Stability (t)	-	41	237	115	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Agency	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	(Estimated) 1988	1989
Department of Commerce:												
International Trade Administration (u).....	256	294	391	376	368	526	446	560	688	655	240	302
Export Administration (v).....	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	516	523
Patent and Trademark Office.....	2,795	3,014	2,734	2,834	3,036	3,140	3,286	3,438	3,408	3,093	3,530	3,715
Subtotal.....	3,051	3,308	3,125	3,210	3,404	3,666	3,732	3,998	4,096	3,748	4,286	4,540
Department of Justice:												
Antitrust Division.....	595	715	939	939	829	742	704	649	674	649	549	549
Federal Election Commission.....	-	62	251	235	219	214	225	235	220	230	246	252
Federal Trade Commission.....	1,391	1,569	1,665	1,587	1,322	1,122	1,160	1,075	1,033	918	936	936
International Trade Commission (w).....	265	408	438	438	413	399	438	462	472	450	502	502
Library of Congress:												
Copyright Office.....	332	385	593	573	573	573	561	561	561	561	564	564
Securities and Exchange Commission.....	1,436	2,150	2,100	1,930	1,925	2,021	2,021	2,046	2,080	2,086	2,267	2,420
TOTAL--General Business.....	7,070	8,638	9,390	9,055	8,685	8,737	8,841	9,026	9,136	8,642	9,350	9,763
TOTAL ECONOMIC REGULATION.....	19,361	23,976	26,436	25,440	24,459	24,044	24,320	23,845	24,842	23,740	25,273	25,926
GRAND TOTAL.....	73,375	104,168	117,978	113,609	105,706	101,888	101,431	100,778	101,352	102,109	105,167	106,195

Notes:

- = agency not operational n/a = not available

(a) through (w): see notes at the beginning of the Appendix

Source: Center for the Study of American Business, Washington University. Derived from the Budget of the United States Government and related documents, various fiscal years.

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